Fellowship

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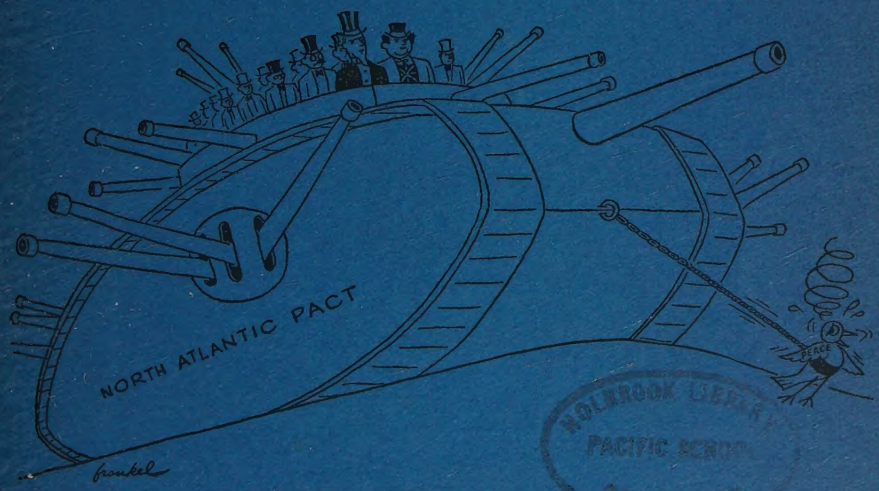

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OF RELIGION

Don't Call Me Pacifist!, by Frederick P. Walther, Jr.

Alliance of Insecurity, by John M. Swomley, Jr.

Letter from Italy, by Giovanni Pioli

The Things Which Belong Unto Peace, by Winifred Rawlins

THE NAME OF JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., isn't new to members of the FOR, since he's been around for lo! these many years. Beginning as Student Secretary while he was attending Boston University, he became a full-time member of the staff on graduation. He is now, and has been since before the war, Associate Secretary of the FOR. For the better part of four years, beginning in 1945, he worked mostly in Washington with the National Council Against Conscription, to which the FOR loaned him. John has been in charge of the FOR's work in schools and colleges, which is one of its major emphases, and believes that this work offers tremendous opportunities for the spread of the pacifist message. . . . Winifred Rawlins is a member of Peacemakers, and is one of the California group which is planning a sort of summer conference, described in the news pages. . . . Frederick P. Walther, Jr., is a former Unitarian minister, now an unhappy business man . . . and Professor Pioli's background is sketched with his article.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

June, 1949 **Vol. XV—No. 6**

Subheads

Paradise

"Los Alamos," reads a headline in the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, "Becomes Paradise for Moppets." The story goes on to explain that one characteristic of the atomic-bomb center is its "exceptional fondness for children." Houses nearest schools are given to families with children; walks to the schools are laid out to avoid the necessity of crossing any streets; and the schools themselves are "the country's most modern in teaching methods." They have to be, of course, adds the paper, to attract hard-to-get scientists, and concludes, "This is a moppet's paradise. Even if they don't realize it now."

Satire

Sometimes readers charge this department with being satirical, or sarcastic, or cynical, or bitter. But it isn't what we say that is the satire—it's the facts themselves. We were going to comment on the item from the *New Mexican*, but what could anyone say that would possibly be more satirical, even if unconsciously so, than that last sentence?

Communist

We try to keep abreast of the current definitions of such words as "Communist" and "subversive," but we do have our troubles. Latest variation came in the story carried by a Washington newspaper about a woman employee at the Pentagon who didn't like the kind of milk to which the Pentagon cafeterias had switched. She began circulating a petition, asking that the cafeterias change back to the brand they had been using.

First thing she knew she'd been summoned to an Army office, questioned, released, and then recalled. On the second trip her boss, an attorney, went along. After listening to the questions the colonel in charge asked her, he protested.

"I think you're a little out of order," he said mildly.

"But," said the colonel in surprise, "how do we know she's not a Communist?"

Socialism

One of the more amusing aspects of the present struggle over the "socialistic" attitude of the Administration is the desperate effort of the government to convert its most completely socialized agency to private enterprise, and the equally frantic opposition to such a move from such ordinarily anti-socialist stalwarts as the *Saturday Evening Post* and most of the other newspapers and magazines of the country.

The agency in question is the Post Office, which operates at a sizable loss year after year on the assumption that the government shares in the responsibility for disseminating information freely to the public. The present Postmaster General points out that the huge deficit incurred in the second-class mailing department actually is a subsidy to the nation's press and ought to be eliminated. From the point of view of an ardent enthusiast for free enterprise, no government interference with business, and so on, the proposition should sound eminently reasonable.

Oddly enough, it doesn't. Representatives of some of our richest newspapers and magazines have paraded before a congressional committee to protest angrily that postal rates that would enable the department to clear expenses would wipe out their profits and plunge them into bankruptcy.

They're right enough, too. They would. And, as a matter of fact, the magazine joins its richer brethren in opposing the change, which it regards as pernicious. But wouldn't you think that if it's all right to subsidize the profits of the *Saturday Evening Post* it really would not be too bad to subsidize the job of getting people out of slums and into decent homes?

"Perhaps you should have two, Colonel! . . . a nation, armed to the teeth and ready for any contingency, is always secure from attack."

Uh-Huh!

"As a practicing warrior for many years, I am convinced that the complete futility of war. It settles only problems of the past and creates the new problems of the future. . . . But . . . there are still many battles that cannot be avoided."

—Gen. Claire L. Chennault

Price Tag

The cost of World War II, in lives and money, can now be summed up, according to C. Hartley Grattan in the April *Harper's*. Mr. Grattan lists 40 million dead: 10

million in the armed forces and 30 million civilians. As for the money, actually spent was $1,117 billion; physical damage amounted to $2,-234 billion; and depletion of national resources $650 billion, for a total of $4,000 billion. That's *four thousand billion dollars!* Build quite a few schools, and feed quite a few hungry families with that, couldn't we?

Quote

"It is impossible to paralyze an idea with violence, destroy it by force, drown it in blood. She, the Church, is the greatest testimony of the folly of such prejudice. The idea that wins over another idea is that which most excels in truth, that which counts most on the abnegation and example of its followers. Communism one defeats by prayer and demonstration with works that social justice has no need to deny God in order to activate itself."

—From an editorial in *Osservatore Romano,* (official Vatican newspaper), quoted in *The Catholic Worker.*

Largely Irrelevant

Sign in a New York store window: "Puppies for Sale—Genuine Dogs."

* * *

And in another window: "Irregular Ladies' Dungarees—$1.89."

* * *

Willett, Clark and Co., erstwhile publishers of, among other things, Allan Hunter's *White Corpuscles in Europe,* was taken over not long ago by Harper's. A recent request to the latter firm for information about *White Corpuscles* was referred to that publisher's medical book department.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The National Tax Equality Association, a big-business-backed anti-cooperative lobbying group, recently thought up a new dodge for its propaganda in an imitation dollar-bill labeled "Bucks to Burn," and imprinted with anti-cooperative material. The NTEA offers to send these free for the asking, so cooperators are ordering them by the thousands—and burning them. Their slogan is: "NTEA Has Bucks to Burn—Let's Help!"

* * *

The American Legion has called on Congress to pass a veterans' pension bill estimated to cost $77 billion in the next fifty years, and ignore the cost. "All figures cause is confusion," said the Legion's lobbyist.

* * *

At the signing of the North Atlantic Military Alliance, the Marine Band played "I Got Plenty of Nothin' " and "It Ain't Necessarily So."

* * *

General Joseph T. McNarney, chief of the Air Materiel Command, announces that the U. S. will soon have a 12,000-pound bomb that can be guided to its target.

* * *

And the United States also has a gun that refuses to fire at friendly planes, containing a radar device that "recognizes" its pals. The next step, we can devoutly hope, will be a gun that refuses to fire at anything but buzzards and mythical sea monsters, recognizing, even if its crew does not, that they and their targets are brothers.

After examining the definitions by nonpacifists, this FOR member says—

Don't Call Me Pacifist!

By FREDERICK P. WALTHER, JR.

OCCASIONALLY, over the years, I have described myself or acceded to being described as a pacifist.

Now I have decided that I'm *not* a pacifist. In fact, I have decided that I would like to have done with the term "pacifist."

I happen to be a conscientious objector to war. That's a passably accurate phrase. It describes how I behaved in the presence of a particular war situation and how I hope I will continue to behave under similar circumstances.

At no time, for any cause or reason, will I kill or countenance the killing of my fellow man. I object. It's against the dictates of my conscience. Therefore I'm most willing to class myself and to be classed as a conscientious objector. Such appears to be a reasonably true statement.

But I'm blessed if I'm a pacifist, particularly in view of the term's varied definitions, which, like embattled Gaul, appear to be divisible into three parts.

First, there's the popular definition. To much of the popular mind, a pacifist is one who believes in some dim but definitely passive behavior in the face of critical social situations, including a maniac on the loose.

To the second, semi-enlightened segment of the population, a pacifist is one who, because he is honestly convinced that all war and its appurtenances are inevitably and irretrievably wicked, has decided that blood offerings are not the way to be a true worshipper of the idol, Peace.

And to a final, more completely conversant group, a pacifist is one who hopes to do away with the curse of war through individual example and moral suasion.

Let us admit right away that none of these definitions is either complete or wholly acceptable to those who call themselves pacifists. They constitute, at best, only a crude, over-simplified outline of what the term "pacifist" usually means to *nonpacifists*, and are offered here merely to provide a starting point from which to discuss why I'm *not* a pacifist in view of the nonpacifist definition of the term.

"Righteously Indignant"

To begin with, I can't honestly lay claim to be "one who adopts a passive behavior in the face of critical social situations." On the contrary, I get righteously indignant about conditions and events and behaviors. I decry them at the drop of a hat. I'm always willing to attempt disturbing discourses about current problems and situations. I often berate people's state of ignorance, indifference and subservience. I even write impa-

tient letters to Editors and Presidents, denouncing and demanding.

Furthermore, in reply to the old saw about the maniac attacking my wife, I think I probably would snap into immediate and anxious action, doing my best to restrain the fellow any way I could figure out. Since I don't happen to have a degree in psychiatry, and doubtless wouldn't have time anyway to bring out a couch and psychoanalyze the poor chap, my restraining technique might even include a club or lasso.

At any rate, once I had him subdued (or was fortunate enough to come to after he had subdued me), what appears to me pertinent is that I would run like fury for some good medicos who could attend properly to both the maniac and my wife. And of equal importance, I would remain stirred up: would want to find out what had induced the maniac's madness, how he happened to be loose in our vicinity in the first place, and what could be learned from and done about the whole situation.

In short, I would be aroused into a Fighter, a Crusader for Mental Health. And there would be blessed little calm or quiet where I was: in the institutions and political sanctums I was able to penetrate and found wanting, in the hearts of those responsible for there being a maniac around to attack my wife, and in the minds of all who allowed me to spout about my experience and findings.

Now it's rather obvious that this behavior on my part does not make me a pacifist in the passive meaning of the term. And frankly, I'm getting a bit tired of discussing imagined maniacs with nonpacifists, only to have both of us reach this frustrating conclusion. It's much easier, and also possibly more honest, just to decide that I'm not a pacifist.

But my pacifist temperature reading is even worse than I've indicated so far. I not only am not a pacifist from the view of the popular nonpacifist mind, I'm also not a pacifist from the view of the semi-enlightened segment.

I start out all right, from their viewpoint, since I happen to dare to say out loud and in embarrassing circumstances that war is against my conscience and an irreparable spillage of blood, sweat and tears. But I'm a heretic to the idol of Peace, and my heresy is terrible to behold. Very simply, I do not believe in the importance of Peace with a capital "P" nor do I think that I would want any if it were available on the shelf.

Hearts and Flowers

All the Elysian fantasies which to most minds represent Peace, strike me as ridiculous and, what's even worse, leave me cold. With my nice active glands, how could life in a vista of simpering cherubs appear attractive, anyway? I glory too much in living in this instant, with all its difficulties and differences. Yes, even its pain and disappointments. Peace as fancied by its idolaters, a sort of stultified state of repressed reactions wherein problems no longer exist and hearts and flowers reign supreme, just does not interest me any more than does Death. In fact, I think I doubt the importance of both conceptions about equally completely.

At any rate, all I know for sure is that I'm an alive and kicking human being: a curious, searching,

energy-expanding organism; and that I want to use myself up staying that way. Having decided to heed my conscience and not kill my fellow man, I simply have no interest in or yen for any vapid vistas called Peace with a capital "P."

This Is Heresy!

This, of course, is heresy of the highest order to the semi-enlightened nonpacifists who always have waged war under the spell of compensating visions of cherub-filled fields. Heretofore they have considered themselves and me as all Peace idolaters together, the difference between us lying in our way of worship rather than in our orthodoxy. Their role has been that of the nice, conforming worshippers, ever ready to answer the call for traditional blood offerings. Whereas I, when so called upon, have been expected to say: "Tut, tut, boys. Peace is our idol, all right. But human sacrifices aren't the way of the true worshipper."

And now, here I am, pretending to be a pacifist, but utterly uninterested in Peace with a capital "P," even questioning its importance, or its desirability if available. Once again I might as well face the facts and try at least to be an honest heretic. I'm against war at all times and under all circumstances, certainly. I'm a conscientious objector, definitely yes. But I simply do not idolize Peace and so must confess that I'm *not* a pacifist.

Which brings us to the final, more completely conversant group of nonpacifists: those who understand the term pacifist to mean one who hopes to do away with the curse of war through individual example and moral suasion.

I usually encounter less difficulties of a semantic nature with these people than with the others. Their accusation that I consider individual example and moral suasion primary responsibilities of human life, is entirely correct. And I think we both mean very much the same thing in our use of those words. But their expectation that I must feel that my particular, personal acts of witness and testimony will do away with the curse of war, is completely in error. And this is a twist they find extremely difficult to swallow.

In their view, if I'm truly anti-war and really sincere in my declarations of conscientious objection, then I should be of the opinion that my puny powers of personal example and moral suasion will be able to turn the tide against war all by themselves. I should envisage myself riding a White Horse down the Halls of Time, an irresistible figure in a smoothly functioning arithmetical progression before which Wicked War scuttles off into the darkness to rear its ugly head nevermore. If not so deluded, I'm misusing the pacifist label. My position is not complete unless I have the answer as well as my conscientious objection to war, right here and now.

It's all very discouraging, from both of our viewpoints. I simply have no mathematical magic whereby I can promise the end of war in my day, and the nonpacifists have. They have it all nicely figured out, on the basis of a theorem called balances of power, that we must become warriors ourselves whenever there are any other warriors around: that this is the way to arrive at the arithmetical result of zero warriors waging war.

Whereas I merely say that I'm against war and all its appurtenances under any and all circumstances: that my conscience objects to everything about killing my fellow man and to any and all participation in such behavior. And I take this stubborn stand without claiming that my conscientious objection will necessarily have very much to do with ending the curse of war in my generation: that it only can be expected to reduce the warrior potential by the measly little figure of one.

And there you have the whole sorry story of why, in view of the nonpacifist definition of the term, I have had to decide that I'm not a pacifist but merely that anomaly of our times: A Man Without A Line—even a pacifist one. I'm not very passive, nor do I idolize Peace with a capital "P," nor do I have the answer to the curse of war. All I have is my conscientious objection to it. That, and my condition of being an alive and kicking human being.

But maybe this isn't such a sad state to be in after all. If I recall correctly, a rather astute gentleman by the name of Socrates reached some conclusions not unlike these in his day. First, that he knew of no answers that added up. Second, that his mission in life was to keep on seeking and testing. And third, that the only base from which to operate was the negative one of conscience.

In his trial speech and Apology to Crito, Socrates tells quite clearly how he used to consult what he called his Oracle. If he heard no warning, then he would proceed with his current or contemplated undertaking. His conscience was something he developed to a fine degree of sensitivity, and consulted frequently. But it was a completely negative instrument. It never told him *what* to do. It merely told him what *not* to do; and thus challenged him to keep on seeking and testing: to continue on his curious, searching, energy-expending way.

The Inner Voice

So maybe it's not entirely foolish for me to try to behave likewise. Every time I've consulted my conscience, it has told me in no uncertain terms that I can't kill my fellow man, no matter what the circumstances or rationalizations. That appears to be that. And once this negative base of operations is accepted, it seems rather sensible to keep on reacting to various stimuli as conscientiously as possible and to continue expending energy in whatever ways appear non-objectionable to that mysterious Inner Voice.

Right in my own times, a rather fascinating individual by the name of Gandhi seems to have spent a most interesting life being such an actively seeking and testing conscientious objector. Of course, like Socrates, Gandhi ended up questioning how much he knew or had accomplished. I think that's what I admire most about him. After a lifetime of conscientious seeking and testing, and building what many have wanted to consolidate into a Line, Gandhi himself still possessed sufficient perception to question whether he had proved much of anything except his own and his followers' fallibility.

And that young fellow Davis, over in Paris, whose conscientious objection has resulted in his resigning his comfortable citizenship

in the United States so that he can experiment with affirming himself into World Citizenship. His conscience appears to be guiding him into an interesting career, too. Though, personally, I incline to want to find out how to declare myself a World Citizen without any contradictory resignation of the responsibilities out of which and by means of which I have happened. I want to affirm my World Citizenship in addition to and above my citizenship in the United States, not in irresponsible denial of it.

Maybe some day someone will synthesize the examples of World Citizen Davis, Gandhi of India, Jesus of Nazareth, Carrie Nation, and the Friends Service Committee, to come up with a crusade that really fires my Socratic soul. It will be called something like "The Mission of Man and His Conscience"; and its members will display a fine disregard of all isms and Lines of whatever variety. They will go forth in complete abandonment of all systems and mathematical magic to overturn money-changers' tables, chop down arsenals, and march across national borders and through iron curtains bearing burdens of Faith, Hope and Charity—in, of and for Man.

Of course, such a crusade doubtless will be disastrously futile when measured in the terms either of the survival of my flesh or of any fantasies about Peace with a capital "P." But then, I still can't get it out of my head that I would be a terribly uncomfortable misfit in an Elysian field, anyway. In short, that I just am *not* a pacifist.

Chant for a Young Idealist

Night pit of sorrow, echoing thoughts of what
might be, and is not . . .
Percussion upon percussion, drums beating,
thudding, and convoluting to pain . . .
Beat, beat, beat, beat beat . . .
If you go down, down under the dying joys
of all imprisoned men,
If truth be too crushing for wisdom then
pray, if you can.
Oh! pray for strength and faith to go forth
again,
Forgetting the discord of the rejectors,
Once more as a brother, forgetting the night,
And rejoicing in the clean morning beauty
of chords and songs, issuing forth from the
early few, and remember brother,
There will always be listeners, oh yes,
A chosen few.

—Carol Perry

Indications of hope from a country devastated by fascism and war, in this—

Letter from Italy

By GIOVANNI PIOLI

ON THE FIRST OF FEBRUARY, 1948, early risers in most Italian cities found posters on the walls of buildings, reading: *"Soldiers!* Your protests against the extension of the term of military service are right: they are inspired by a natural *need of liberty.* But they are not enough: protests alone will expose you to the reprisals of your superior officers. Desert your barracks! Throw away your uniforms! Return to your homes! Authority uses the army as a tool—in wartime, to bid you kill in defense of interests which are not and never will be yours; in peacetime, in defense of privileged wealth, by making you shoot at working men in the name of so-called public order. Hierarchy, discipline, obedience are instruments to annihilate your will, to humble and enslave you. Attest your freedom: Go Home!"

These efforts to counteract an order arbitrarily prolonging army service may have had political overtones, but their principal inspiration was sheer anti-militarism. The protests arose, not from propaganda by the peace groups, but often as spontaneous expressions of soldiers' grievances. To apportion direct responsibility for them is impossible. The prosecution of some "seditious" soldiers, sick of everything smacking of war, stimulated these and numerous other protests. When eleven graduate soldiers were sentenced by a Verona court, 2,000 young workmen from Milan factories demonstrated in sympathy with the rebels, asking that extension of service be dropped.

Professor Pioli

Professor Giovanni Pioli of Milan is one of the best-known Italian pacifists and anti-Fascists. In 1935 *he was deprived of his teaching post in the state school system by the Fascist government, and made many other sacrifices as a result of his anti-Fascist activity. He is the chief inspiration of the group of war resisters in Italy, and has contributed articles on pacifism to various European periodicals.*

Conventional Movements

From such extreme manifestations it is a far cry to the more orthodox peace societies that have sprung up in Italy like mushrooms, since the war. So many and varied are these that one can only mention a few of the more typical organizations. First and foremost stands the old Italian Association for Peace and International Justice, founded in 1887 by Ernesto

Moneta, a Nobel prize winner, and inspired by Felix Mosheles, the friend and painter of Mazzini. It was suppressed by Fascism in 1937 for "opposing the direction of the regime," and its property confiscated for the benefit of the Fascist Party. It rose to new life in 1945, and in two sessions it proposed "the limitation of the sovereignty of the state, if necessary to render effective the organization and defense of peace." This principle was accepted by the Constituent Assembly and incorporated into the Constitution of the Italian Republic.

The International Association for the Brotherhood of Peoples, called "Humanitas," was formed at Rome in 1944, to promote solidarity and spiritual fellowship among peoples; to reconstruct thought and art on new bases; and to spread international intercourse in life and culture. It has an ambitious program, voiced by its organ, *La Coltura nel Monde,* in many languages; by lectures given by foreign celebrities; by concerts and exhibitions.

Besides these are the Italian Unionist Movement working for a United States of the World; the United Nations Society of Italy; the European Federalist Movement, which apparently has received new impetus in recent months from the increasing antagonism between the great powers; and the other federalist groups, the International Progressive Association, and the World Federalist Union. Italian women also have their own "peace" organizations in the Italian Women's Alliance, the National Italian Women's Association for Peace, and the Association of Mothers for Peace.

One need not be a cynic to doubt the depth and spirit of the members working through these movements. Yet as a thoughtful observer, Professor Marcucci, has written: "Even these ideological efforts on behalf of peace, after such a long period of political slavery when even to utter the word 'peace' was a crime, must be deemed a reason for hope."

Pacifist Wing Small

Through several articles by the writer in leading Italian reviews such as *Critica Sociale, Mercurio, Minerva,* and such newspapers as *Monde Libero,* with extracts often widely spread, a large public in Italy has been made aware of the more uncompromising pacifist movements, among them the War Resisters' International and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the heroic resistance to the war method made by devoted individuals in various parts of the world.

Work along such lines in Italy, however, must be carried on against great odds, voluntarily in spare time, often by those whose personal budgets cannot provide the basic essentials of human life. Yet from several areas of the country responses to such ideas have come both from young people and their elders. For those responsible for pacifist work in Italy one thing must be said: rather than trying to build up large numbers, they have asked prospective members to probe their own minds, to inquire into their capacity for the matching of ideas with sacrificial deeds the ultimate test being, of course, their renunciation of any part in war.

In Italy, the taking of such a position seems certain to involve years of trials, loss of positions

broken careers, often exile from family or fatherland, sometimes long years of lonely life performing uncongenial tasks. Young people in particular have been urged to seek first the development, in themselves, of the maturity and strength of character eventually to be required. The number of adherents to this position is only about 100, but many of these are centers of radiation. Even those who disagree with their point of view must regard them as pioneers. Some encouragement came from the adoption of Article Four of the Constitution—an article which asserts: "The Republic renounces war as an instrument of conquest and offense to the liberty of other peoples, and admits, on condition of reciprocity, of such limitations to its sovereignty as are required for the defense and organization of peace."

Religious Motivation

Thanks to the courage, tenacity and sacrificial spirit of certain leaders—among them Professor Aldo Capitini and Dr. Ferdinando Tartaglia—a movement has arisen to which various religious, moral and social thinkers, prompted by a desire to serve humanity above denominational and party limits, were attracted.

The most notable expression of their organized activity was and is a series of congresses to discuss the modern religious problem, held in principal Italian cities and towns. Several of these leaders, like Capitini, Tartaglia, Edmondo Marcucci, Silvano Balboni, Mario Tassoni, and others, have for years been ardent pacifists. In two successive congresses this movement has included among its aims the passage of a resolution through the Assembly that would exempt genuine conscientious objectors from military service, whatever their religious affiliations.

Grateful surprise was felt by this movement when word reached its congress of April, 1947, that the then Minister for National Defense (a prominent politician who had bravely resisted Fascism and whose son Poldo, a promising youth, had been barbarously murdered by Fascists at Fossoli) had announced that "the plans for the new organization of the armed forces in Italy contemplate the abolition of compulsory military conscription."

On May 20, 1947, there began an impassioned discussion of Article 49 of the proposed Constitution. This Article declared that "the defense of the fatherland is a sacred duty of the citizen," and that military service must be compulsory. Dramatically, the Hon. Umberto Calosso, a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party (known as the Right, or "Saragat Socialists") proposed that Italy's military budget should never exceed that for public education. He also advocated the abolition of compulsory military service, along with an official attitude of permanent neutrality. This, he said, would secure for Italy a civil primacy in Europe. Calosso's party presented an amendment to Article 49 legalizing the principles he had urged.

In the face of an intense opposition, virtually a coalition of all parties, including both the Christian Democrats and the Communists, a more moderate amendment was introduced by Hon. Luigi Gasparotto, a Liberal Democrat. This substituted the words "armed forces" for "army," leaving for a future law the limits and terms of

military service. His amendment was eventually carried. But a moral victory for an advanced attitude toward pacifists was won when Ernesto Caporali of the Socialist Workers' Party made an impassioned appeal for the rights of conscientious objectors, "the advance patrol of a new humanity, who stubbornly believe in the majesty of life, in spite of all forces working for its destruction." Into the cold atmosphere of Montecitorio, the meeting place of the Assembly, so often deaf and dumb to utterances of high ideals, Caporali brought these words of a concrete resolution: "The state should reserve for conscientious objectors, in case of war, purely auxiliary tasks."

A Moral Victory

The striking thing was not that Signor Caporali's motion was rejected, by about 300 opposition votes, but that it secured 100 in its favor. Another astonishing thing was the diversity of those who gave support to the Caporali effort; besides the Socialist Workers' Party, about seventy members of the Assembly, scattered over all party sections, gave it their votes. The only solid opposition came from the Communists and their allies, the Nenni Socialists.

By no means did the 100 favorable votes come from members who were conscientious objectors themselves. Rather, they felt that Italy should be brought into line with the other nations of the world that recognize the rights of conscience as a democratic principle.

"I am convinced," said Caporali in a letter to the writer, "that the problem of COs is bound up with the general one of the integral fight against war—all kinds of war—of the revaluation of the principles of human solidarity, without which socialism fails to possess a *raison d'etre*. . . . I found that my proposal lacked reality, because of the hypocrisy at the base of our political and moral customs today, as always in the past."

The Hon. Luigi Gasparotto, an eminent lawyer who started his life's work as a schoolteacher, declared in an interview with this correspondent, "I am well acquainted with the currents and movements against fighting and against compulsory military service, inspired by moral ideals. I emphasized the development of voluntary service as a means of overcoming the difficulties of legal recognition for such ideals in a land quite unprepared to appreciate them. I was called 'an enemy of the fatherland,' 'a traitor to the people.' I replied that voluntary service had long been in practice in Italy, where 100 percent of the Carabinieri and Guardie di Finanza, 61 percent of marine soldiers, and 64 percent of the air service are supplied by volunteers. Why could not the armed defense forces be supplied in the same way? Voluntary service must, in my view, gradually and finally supplant compulsory service in peacetime, in our country with its limited army. War being, in modern times, mainly one of machines, it can be waged only by technicians, whose services must be of a permanent, and therefore voluntary, character."

With all its different characteristics, with all its uphill struggle, with all its weakness, the Italian peace movement is moving ahead, and hopes to take, one day, an important part in the world-wide movement to do away with war.

The Things Which Belong Unto Peace

By WINIFRED RAWLINS

IT IS RECORDED THAT Jesus, weeping over the fate of Jerusalem, exclaimed: "If thou hadst known the things which belong unto thy peace!" Our need today is the same. It is commonly said: "Everybody wants peace," and to a large degree it is true. But many people want peace, and yet want still more the things that make peace impossible. It is probably equally true that there are numbers of sincere people who deeply desire peace yet do not know what are the things that belong to peace.

Perhaps one of the commonest tension-points presents itself to the individual after this manner: there is a dilemma between my personal immaturity, of which I am acutely conscious, and the need of the world that presses on me. If peace is an inward condition of the personality, and outward harmony only a reflection of this, how is it possible for one like myself who has not yet succeeded in resolving his own inner tensions to bring peace into the lives of others?

We do well to recognize our own immaturity. But peace is not an absence of tensions. It is a way of living with tensions, not allowing them to force us to deny the divinity within ourselves or in others, using them as a means of growth toward higher tensions. So that peace would seem to be not a state of achievement but a continual becoming. We can see now that even an immature personality can guide another into the way of peace if he has grasped this principle.

What is more, this personal growth toward maturity for which we all long cannot take place if we isolate ourselves too much from others. The growing spirit needs the stuff of living as material with which to work. As we wrestle as creatively as we know how with the conflict situations around us, ranging from family antagonisms to Selective Service, our ability to endure tensions and to reconcile them at a higher level grows. Grow in response to new challenges, or admit failure—that has been the imperative command all through evolution.

We Act on Faith

Sometimes we hesitate to embark on active expressions of our longing for peace because we believe that action should wait for complete inner conviction. But action, besides accompanying and proceeding from thought, also helps to mould it. If we are in the position of the father whose son Jesus healed, crying: "I believe! Help thou mine unbelief!" then it may be that in order to strengthen our belief in brotherhood we need to go and act as though we had entire faith—live in an interracial house, join an income-pooling experiment, give up a job that makes us uncomfortable because of its relation to the war machine. "But decisions taken without conviction are of no value," we object. The fact that we do *not* do these things, believing as we do even very half-heartedly in brotherhood, also involves a decision.

The search for peace involves a constant willingness to experiment with new forms of human relationship: relationship of the individual to the ultimate, of person to person, of person to group, and of group to group. Do we not have here the material of all our problems? Peace rests upon the assumption that what is good and right where one of these relationships is concerned is ultimately good for all the others.

Relation with Truth

The first relationship, that of the individual to the highest truth that he knows, governs and enlightens all the rest. Yet, paradoxically, it may be that in trying to discover the right relationship to my brother I may stumble on the key that unlocks the door to God. Therefore there cannot be, inherently, any conflict between these loyalties. All are included in the need to express outwardly the truth we are coming to understand inwardly. In giving up my job I may expose my children or my parents to economic insecurity. But if by continuing in this work I am denying something divine within myself, then eventually my relationship with my family will suffer and wither to lifelessness, because it is not based on truth. Better for those I love to know physical want than for their faith in goodness to falter because I have been unfaithful.

It all seems to come back to this: do we believe that the supreme value in life is the development of personalities that are increasingly conscious of their unity with the Source of all life and with one another? If so, then the things that belong to peace will be those conditions that allow to all the maximum growth toward this ideal. That will not rule out tensions, but will make possible the creative endurance of them.

And how do we come to "know" these things? There is an intellectual knowing, a taking on trust such as the non-scientist's belief in the reality of the North Pole. And there is an immediate knowing, a being willing to stake your life on something as true because of your own experience.

It is this second kind of knowing that is needed for peace. I can think of no other way in which individuals (there are perhaps a few exceptions) can grow in maturity and power than by coming together regularly with fellow seekers for mutual aid and the sharing of insights. We usually speak of such an association of committed persons as a cell, and the cell differs from the more loosely knit group both in the intensity of its purpose and in the interdependence of its members. The cell meetings, side by side with individual discipline, provide the dynamic and the center round which all other activities are integrated.

Here is the true home where we can be ourselves, in all our incompleteness and yet with all our potentiality. Here too is the world at peace in embryo, a little pattern for all to understand. Not that we claim presumptuously to have arrived, but rather affirm that above all else we care about the search, and are ready to subordinate everything else to it. Here the biological family group is not denied but included; and family ethics, especially the taking of spiritual and material responsibility for one another on a basis transcending legality, are carried over into a wider circle, affirming the oneness of all life.

The cell is the place where we can begin to learn the true nature of nonviolence, or soul-force, and by coming into obedient harmony with the sources of spiritual life we can discover the heroism we need to become free from possessiveness, and so free to be the forerunners of a new order of society. As the life of the cell develops we see that we must be equally concerned for personal inner change and for an appeal to others to accept the revolutionary ethics of Jesus and Tolstoi and Gandhi, and prepare to live in the new unified world that now is the only alternative to no world at all.

So, given enough seekers who will be faithful enough, we may be able to rid the world of war. Until a man-directed catastrophe actually occurs it is never inevitable, and who dare measure or predict the power of the dedicated spirit? Our ultimate responsibility remains, whatever happens in history: to respond humbly and joyfully to the upward pull of life; and, at whatever cost, "to live heroically in that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars and strife."

A Message to the Churches

Though written in the first person singular and presented by Norman Whitney, FOR member and head of the Syracuse Peace Council, this statement, read at the Federal Council of Churches' conference on the Churches and World Order in Cleveland March 8 to 11, represented the pacifist minority's viewpoint.

WITH FULL RESPECT and sympathy for the problems and purposes in the minds of those who drafted it, I am moved to express my concern that in all this discussion of power there is what seems to many of us inadequate recognition of the meaning of American military bases encircling the world, of military conscription in peacetime at home, of the shrinking areas of freedom brought about by the demands for military secrecy, and the hysteria engendered by our fears.

We are met at the call of the churches of Christ in America, and in one of the supreme hours of human history, to seek the will of God for men and nations in our time.

One of the basic concepts of the Christian Church is universality; all men are sons of one God and brothers in Christ. Therefore, it is impossible for the Christian Church to counsel the statesmen of their own country on the moral use of power in any different terms than those in which they counsel any other state, large or small, friendly or hostile.

The problem is one of the nature of the power to be used and the purposes for which it is to be employed. It is clear, for example, that the Christian Church can advise all countries alike to use their power to feed the hungry, heal the sick, comfort those in distress, and help all men to grow in favor with God and man.

Likewise the counsel of the

Church regarding the use of police and military power must also be of universal application. We cannot say more or less about the use of Russian military power than about the use of American military power without, ourselves, accepting the idea that the ends justify the means, which we vigorously repudiate when used by Communists.

No Lawful War

In this dilemma, we are driven to the conclusion of Jonathan Drymond which has been before the Christian Church since 1823 that "war must be wholly forbidden or allowed, without restriction to defense; for no definitions of lawful and unlawful war will be, or can be, attended to. There is no hope of an eradication of war but by an absolute and total abandonment of it."

Practically, this means that we call on all nations, and especially our own, being first in power and hence in responsibility, to launch at once a vigorous and dynamic effort for universal disarmament under international inspection and control.

This is to encounter almost insuperable obstacles and to incur the gravest risks. But to do less is to expose all mankind to the admittedly unparalleled disaster of atomic and bacteriological warfare.

Again, practically the circle of mutual fear and suspicion must be broken by acts of trust and confidence. It means that the processes of change by peaceful means must never be abandoned.

The Church's greatest service is to be alive in and demonstrate the power of a higher order of life than that of the secular society about it.

This is the task of the Church to which we call ourselves and all men everywhere.

Reconciliation

Word over all, beautiful as the sky,

Beautiful that war and all its deeds of carnage must in time be utterly lost,

That the hands of the sisters Death and Night incessantly, softly wash again, and ever again, this soil'd world;

For my enemy is dead, a man divine as myself is dead.

I look where he lies white-faced and still in the coffin—I draw near,

Bend down and touch lightly with my lips the white face in the coffin.

—Walt Whitman

Alliance of Insecurity

The story behind this latest power politics move, in the light of some former pacts

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR began in the wake of the military alliances designed to prevent it. Each side carefully signed up allies in the hope that the other side would be frightened out of the war they were all preparing to enter.

Reliance on Pacts

After Munich, Germany and Russia concluded the Nazi-Soviet pact, the main purpose of which, wrote Louis Fischer, "was to discourage France and England from fighting." Captured official German documents presented to the Nuremburg War Criminals trial and cited in the American press on December 7, 1945 "show that Hitler did not order the German army to invade Poland until August 24, 1939, the day after the signing of the pact which Hitler assumed had frightened the Western powers out of the war."[1]

Not only Hitler but Stalin too, put his faith in the Alliance, for, writes Fischer, "Moscow anticipated that the Nazi-Soviet Pact would induce England and France to do a 'Munich' on Poland and refrain from fighting."

Another set of military alliances had been negotiated by Britain with Poland, Rumania, Greece, and Turkey. These treaties, openly directed against further German aggression, had the full support of France through her public pledge to aid Poland in the event of a German attack.[2]

These powers, Poland with four million men, all of whom had graduated from compulsory military training camps, France with eight million trained men, and Britain with the world's largest navy, did not deter Germany from invading Poland. The French Army, according to Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board, "was universally supposed to be the strongest in the world and for almost a decade it had the finest air force."[3]

Failure of Alliances

The Munich agreement of September 1938 was in itself an indication of the failure of military alliances. France, one of the parties to the agreement whereby Czechoslovakia was dismembered, had in 1924 entered an alliance with the Czechs. They in turn were members of the Little Entente.

If there is any truth to the idea that history repeats itself, the evidence to support it can be found in the system of alliances that preceded both of the great world wars. Nowhere is there a better short description of the cause of World

1 Louis Fischer, *The Great Challenge.*

2 France had in 1921 also entered an alliance with Poland.

3 Donald Nelson, *Arsenal of Democracy.*

War I than in the following words of the British Foreign Minister, Lord Grey:

> After 1870 Germany had no reason to be afraid, but she fortified herself with armaments and the Triple Alliance in order that she might never have reason to be afraid in the future. France naturally was afraid after 1870, and she made her military preparations and the Dual Alliance (with Russia). Britain, with a very small army and a very large empire, became first uncomfortable and then (particularly when Germany began a big-fleet program) afraid of isolation. She made the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, made up her quarrels with France and Russia, and entered into the Entente. Finally Germany became afraid that she would presently be afraid, and struck the blow, while she believed her power to be still invincible.

New Alliances

The North Atlantic Military Alliance has been praised as a pact that would prevent Russian aggression. Yet its principal backer in the Senate, Arthur Vandenberg, does not believe Russia will go to war anyway. He argued recently against an international ordinance against war "because Soviet aggression depends upon many other devices than war. Indeed," he asserted, "war is the last implement they want to invoke."[4]

This point of view assumes that a military alliance can keep nations from going communist. Since Russia, at whom the Pact is aimed, is an idea as well as a nation, Mr. Vandenberg is correct in believing that the threat of Russian expansion may be ideological or military. But he is mistaken in believing that armaments can prevent the penetration of national boundaries by an idea. Even a military victory over those who hold an alien idea cannot destroy that idea as the American and British armies of occupation are discovering in Germany today. On April 10, 1949, an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin reported "a thriving black market" in Hitler's pictures!

In Hanson Baldwin's words, "Nazism has made gains in Germany in the past year." He is quick to add, "Will the arming of Germans in the Western zones halt such dangerous inroads?"

Any attempt to deal by military means with the rising tide of communism in France, Italy, or other countries is sure to boomerang against the nation that tries it, as the United States learned so recently in China. So long as the United States symbolizes the *status quo* it cannot fight an idea which to the dispossessed symbolizes social change. People who are in need want change, and resent those who champion things as they are.

The best that can be said for military power as a threat to communism is that it may temporarily prevent external intimidation and thus give nations a freer hand to deal with their own problems. Even this is not a very valid argument when it is realized that American troops in Greece backed by the Truman Doctrine have not prevented border raids, intimidation and the steady growth of communism. Actually intimidation by Russia is practical and possible only when applied to nations immediately contiguous to her. Yet only Norway of all the North Atlantic Treaty nations has a border

[4] *New York Times*, April 13, 1949.

next to or near Russia. Both Norway and the United States, however, agree that it would be a mistake for American troops and bases actually to be installed in Norway because instead of preventing intimidation it might actually provoke Russian aggression!

If the Alliance cannot or does not prevent the rise of communism, it is meaningless because our allies, while bound by treaty, may nevertheless be gradually turning Communist and hence moving into the Russian orbit. France, for example, won't be of much military help to the United States if communism gains much more ground there. Despite all of America's economic aid, 25 percent of the French people voted Communist during the last national election held in March. The vote was significant since, said the *New York Times*, the Communists waged their "campaign almost wholly on a pro-Soviet and anti-United States position on the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty."[5] There is obviously no unanimity about fighting what many think is essentially a U.S.-Soviet war.

Italy, too, would be no help in such a military alliance even if no one else turns Communist. The non-Communist left including the left wing of De Gasperi's Christian Democrats "known to have very close ties with Catholic Action, the Vatican's lay army . . . openly favors neutrality." This, wrote Mario Rossi from Rome, is supposed to be the Pope's point of view, for a civil war in Italy which would follow any attempt to make war on Russia "would inevitably threaten the Vatican's security and the liberty of the Church."[6]

[5] *New York Times*, March 29, 1949.
[6] *The Nation*, March 12, 1949.

Those who argue that ample military aid will put teeth into the alliance and thus make it an effective opponent of communism need to be reminded of the more than two billion dollars worth of American armaments sent to China to fight the Chinese Communists. The best summary of what happened appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly's* Report on China, in the January 1949 issue:

> The surrender of complete Kuomintang divisions under their own officers and with all their equipment became the most important military characteristic of the war. . . . Chiang's best divisions surrendered not because they had no American arms—many of them had American training as well as American equipment, and many of them had been air-lifted to positions of supposed advantage by American planes or transported by sea in American ships. They surrendered because in spite of extensive aid they could not be convinced that they were fighting for a good cause.

Why Not Try U.N.?

Everything the idealistic supporters of the Pact hope it would do to prevent Russian aggression *could* be accomplished by the United Nations. This would involve:

1. Building up third-party judgment in the United Nations so that a number of nations not tied either to the Russian or American bloc in effect can determine the decision on any major difference of opinion. A nation like India might well take the lead in such a project.

2. Submitting to the Security Council, as the United Nations Charter provides, any "dispute or any situation which might lead to

international friction." Instead of organizing a military alliance the United States should take to the Security Council the Berlin dispute, the German situation, and any potential Soviet threats.

Contrary to the popular impression the veto need not prevent a Security Council solution. The placing of a dispute on the agenda is a procedural matter. The United Nations Charter provides that decisions "on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members" out of the eleven on the council.

On all matters relating to the "pacific settlement of disputes" the Charter states that parties "to a dispute shall abstain from voting." This is the only non-procedural matter where the veto need not apply. The United States, if it were willing to give up its own veto and that of Britain and France, could name these nations along with the Soviet as parties to the dispute, thus permitting the other seve nations to make the decision.

3. Giving the United Nations ex perimental authority to deal wit some important problem. For ex ample, Germany could be turne over to the United Nations with a occupying armies being with drawn. In advance of such a mov the United Nations would have t be given an inspection force com manded by some Count Bernadott whose job would be that of watch ing for any attempts at rearma ment. A small highly mobile Unite Nations police force could, whe asked by the inspection force, ar rest individual offenders befor any rearmament program reache state or national proportions. I successful, an experiment of thi sort would go far toward provin that an international inspectio force would work. Moreover, eac United Nations success woul strengthen the one-world idea jus as each regional alliance or unilat eral action now weakens it.

LANGUAGE OF IDEAS

". . . But at least we would begin to talk once more in the language of ideas, to reach out for those truly devastating solutions which come from the heart, and cost only a bit of voice and a bit of spirit and a bit of human warmth. We had better relearn that language quickly, for use everywhere in a century and in a world in which ideas, good or bad, do indeed shape human affairs—and in which force seems to have a cold in the head."

—Samuel Grafton
N. Y. Post, November 29, 1948

News from the Peace Front

Arrests in Cases of Nonregistrants Slowing

Although only about half the known nonregistrants have so far been arrested, the number of new arrests has fallen off to almost nothing. As of March 21 seventy-six men had been arrested, 49 had been disposed of, and 27 were pending. Of the former, forty received prison sentences ranging from 60 days to three years, six registered after arrest and were released, two were put on probation to the AFSC and the case of one was dismissed.

Sentenced

LARRY GARA, ex-prison CO of World War II who was convicted on March 14 of counseling refusal to register, was sentenced on May 6 to 18 months.

William Bisso, Sonoma County (Calif.) dairy worker who refused to take the oath of induction and later joined the FOR, was sentenced on April 5 in the court of Federal Judge Louis Goodman to a year and a day in prison.

Robert Richter was sentenced on May 16 in California to three years in prison.

William Heusel, of Gibbon, Nebraska, was sentenced in early May to a year and a day.

In the Toils

Douglas Parker and *William Probasco,* appearing for trial in Cincinnati on April 5, were instead "automatically" registered. The cases were continued indefinitely and they were released without bond on their own recognizance.

Robert Cannon, arrested in March for nonregistration, had his trial in Los Angeles postponed pending a decision in the Richter case.

Lorton Heusel of Earlham College, brother of William, was picked up on April 4.

Robert Meyners and *Robert McInnes* have both been released after serving most of their respective three-months sentences. They were shipped from the San Bruno (Cal.) jail to McNeill Island Prison, where they finished their sentences. Meyners is now over age and will not be called again. After the regulation covering such cases had been called to the attention of the Federal Attorney by Orval Etter, McInnes was registered by the prison officials, although he himself refused to sign the registration.

House for Hiroshima

In spite of rumors that Military Permits to Japan were being denied, all members of the group under Floyd Schmoe who are going to build a House for Hiroshima this summer have received Permits. They are Emery Andrew, Mike Takashima, Daisy Tibbs, Ruth Jenkins, and Mr. Schmoe. In addition there will be five or six Japanese students from various parts of Japan.

Cecil Hinshaw Joins Staff of Fellowship

Although his resignation as President of William Penn College in Oskaloosa, Iowa, announced last August, was not expected to take effect until June, 1949, Cecil Hinshaw announced in early April that it would take effect on April 15. On that date he began work as a member of the FOR staff with a program of speaking throughout the country, particularly in churches and before church groups.

Hinshaw became president of William Penn in 1944, after having taught there for some years. Under his regime the student body has been interracial and nondenominational. Eight nonregistrants from William Penn are now serving prison sentences.

After the board of directors had refused to approve Hinshaw's suggestion that the Iowa Yearly Meeting should have only nine out of the 30 members on the board, rather than fifteen, Hinshaw thought it best to move up his resignation. His main differences with the board were as follows:

1. Resentment by townspeople and others of the interracial living of the student body;

2. Pacifism at the college, and the apparent encouragement of youths not to register for the draft;

3. Disagreement on the type of religious teaching; the Iowa Meeting is made up of "pastoral" Quakers, who have ministers, while Hinshaw has encouraged silent meeting;

4. Hinshaw's refusal to grant athletic scholarships (the football team has not won a game in three years, the basketball team just one); Penn does grant part scholarships to CPS men.

His work with the FOR is sched uled to last for three months, b may be extended after that.

Olivet Rebels Pick New College Site

The group of seven faculty mem bers fired by Olivet College (Mich last fall, with other faculty mem bers who intend to join them an possibly 150 students from Olive will set up their own college, begin operating next fall. The ne college will be called Shiphe College, and will be located Sackets Harbor, New York, in former army barracks. Sacke Harbor is on Lake Ontario, ne Watertown, New York.

Tucker Smith, one of the seve announced that an ultimate en rollment of 600 is expected at th college, and that a fund-raisin campaign has already bee launched.

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French Scientists Renounce Atom Bombs

The French Association of Scientific Workers recently adopted unanimously an appeal to all the scientists in the world to work for peace and to stop the application of science in the service of death.

Their statement says: "As men, we cannot but condemn the use of force in the settlement of international questions; as scientists, the study, manufacture or use of scientific armaments—atomic, biological or others—seem to us particularly abhorrent. . . . Atomic armaments are not the only means of mass destruction. Other methods, less publicized, notably biological armaments, represent a danger that may be even more serious for humanity. In fact today bacteriological warfare can be prepared very cheaply, and without detectable production centers, by more than twenty nations; nor is it certain that a decision to end hostilities would stop its effects, or that the latter could be localized to the belligerents. . . . We believe that keeping therapeutic results secret, for military purposes, is already a crime against humanity."

The statement goes on to recommend the gradual limitation of armaments and destruction of stockpiles already in existence.

Mental Health a Pressing Problem

In connection with National Mental Health Week, April 24-30, the National Mental Health Foundation put forth its utmost efforts to publicize the deplorable care of the mentally sick which this country affords. In a leaflet entitled "The Case History of Willow Street," the NMHF points out that one out of every five families has a member who suffers from mental disease. Yet in most of our communities, there is not a single mental health clinic; the average mental hospital spends only $1.60 a day to provide food, shelter and medical care for a patient; almost every mental hospital today is seriously overcrowded, understaffed, and ill-equipped.

The National Mental Health Foundation, founded by men on CPS detached service in mental hospitals, has won the approval and support of doctors and others throughout the country. Its program of education in a tragically ignored and neglected field has been and can be of incalculable value. Its address is 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia 2.

Harrington Succeeds to Holmes' Pulpit

The Community Church in New York on February 28 accepted with profound regret the resignation of John Haynes Holmes, pastor there for 42 years, as of November 29, which will be his 70th birthday. The meeting of the congregation voted unanimously to make Dr. Holmes pastor emeritus on the date of his retirement.

On March 28, at its next meeting, the congregation elected as Dr. Holmes' successor the Rev. Donald Harrington, who has been assistant minister of Community Church for several years. For some years Community Church had held its services in Town Hall, but last fall its new building was completed and has been used since then.

Both men are FOR members.

Australia to Build Underground Factories

On February 14 Australia approved the spending of $592,000,000 for a vast system of hydro-electric power stations to feed huge factories to be built underground. It will take 25 years to complete, and will make Australia an arsenal of Great Britain, from whence key industries and research laboratories will be transferred.

Kenneth E. Boulding, FOR member, visiting lecturer in economics at William Penn College and author of *The Economics of Peace*, became an American citizen in December. The Immigration Service challenged his willingness to defend the Constitution, but was overruled.

Help Build
A House for Hiroshima

A group of young American volunteers of various racial and religious backgrounds is going to Japan this summer to build a house for a homeless Hiroshima family.

This "House for Hiroshima" will help meet a tragic need for shelter and be an expression of goodwill from concerned Americans to the victims of the Atom Bomb.

You will help by sending contributions to:

FLOYD SCHMOE,
Director of the Project
13434 40th Street N.E.
Seattle 55, Washington

Citizenship Ordered Restored to Nisei

United States citizenship w ordered restored to 4,394 Nisei b Federal Judge Louis E. Goodma in San Francisco on March 21. Th Nisei had renounced their citize ship while in the Tule Lake Reld cation Center during the war, an Judge Goodman held that they ha done so under duress, and follow ing threats by Japanese nationa in the camp. He denied a motic by the Justice Department to ho individual trials for all those in volved.

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Plans Go Forward for National Conferences

The three national conferences to be held in different parts of the country in August and early September will provide members with a chance to renew their faith and work out new ways of implementing it. Evening sessions will be devoted mainly to a re-examination of the roots of faith, while the discussion periods will deal with the problems of individuals and groups, how they can solve them, and with the working out of their beliefs in practice.

The southern conference will be held at Lincoln Academy, Kings Mountain, North Carolina, from August 16-21, with Muriel Lester and A. J. Muste among the leaders; the eastern-midwest conference will be at Otterbein College, in Westerville, Ohio (near Columbus) on August 23-28, with Muriel Lester, Robert Calhoun of Yale Divinity School, and Emerson Schwenk among the leaders; and the western conference will be at Geneva Glen near Denver, Colorado, also with Muriel Lester and A. J. Muste, and others to be announced later. Further details on speakers, cost, etc., will be contained in the summer (July) issue.

California Pacifists Plan Summer Group

Members of the Modesto (Calif.) FOR, the Tracy (Calif.) Peacemakers Cell and the Tracy Friends Meeting are planning a program there for this summer of spiritual seeking, study and action, and invite the participation of all who share their concern for the better understanding and practice of non-violent action. Those who take pa will be expected to finance ther selves and are asked, if possible, bring tents or trailers to live i Living will be on a simple sca and work done by the participan so expenses should not be high.

Anyone interested in the proje or in knowing more about it shou write to Winifred Rawlins, Box 2 Tracy, California.

Summer Schools for Community Living

Ralph and Lila Templin, lon time FOR members and former directors of the School of Livin have announced four one-wee summer seminars at Glen Hom stead, Yellow Springs, Ohio, eac one in a separate aspect of com munity living. Participants ma come for a single session or fo several. Work in "homesteading activities, weaving, folk recreatio visits to communities and repor from communities abroad will b included in the curriculum. For in formation write to Ralph Templi at Glen Homestead.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Jottings

Norwegian tax officials have agreed to allow the Quakers there to pay a "peace tax" in place of the defense tax for military purposes recently voted. The Quakers had informed officials that payment of the defense tax was contrary to their convictions and they could not pay it.

Nathuram Vinayak Godse, who shot Mahatma Gandhi in January 1948, was found guilty on February 10 of this year, and sentenced to death.

Opposition to the Dutch policy of using armed force to quell the movement for independence in Indonesia has been heard from the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, which warned that such action would be a source of future difficulties, from mission workers, and from the Kerk en Vrede, the Dutch branch of the FOR, and a number of other church, labor and liberal organizations.

Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway, although not strictly a pacifist now, is a former member of the FOR, and while studying at the London School of Economics after World War I spent his spare time working in the FOR office there.

The Arch Street and Race Street Friends Yearly Meetings in Philadelphia have adopted and sent to the President a resolution opposing the North Atlantic Pact.

A student peace conference in Indianapolis on war, militarism and racism was sponsored by the FOR and the Indiana Christian Student Association on April 1, 2 and 3. Speakers included Cecil Hinshaw, John Swomley and Albert Watson.

The Rev. Robert Gemmer, FOR member, will go to Germany in June with the Brethren International Summer Service to help establish a youth village near Stuttgart.

The British FOR will hold its summer conference from August 13-20 at Bangor, North Wales. Speakers will include André Trocmé of the French FOR, Canon Charles E. Raven and Dr. Alex Wood of Cambridge and John Ferguson of Durham University.

Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Associate General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches and an FOR member, left on April 19 from New York for Germany. He was to spend six weeks there at the request of the Department of the Army assisting in efforts to rebuild the spiritual and cultural life of that country.

The greatest immediate material need in Europe is for men's complete warm suits, says Church World Service. In Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and France, and any other country with a refugee population this need is great, as well as in countries where refugees are now being created, like Greece.

Books

Pacifist Restatement

Christian Pacifism After Two World Wars, by Leyton Richards. Independent Press Ltd. 1948. 145 pp., $2.00.

My life was profoundly changed by Leyton Richards on one of his earlier visits to this country (in 1916), and I have long been an admirer and in many respects a disciple of his. I am glad, therefore, to be able to help in bringing his ideas before a wider audience.

There are many Americans who knew him as he lectured throughout this country between the wars who will find in his book an exceedingly helpful restatement of the Christian pacifist position brought up to date in view of the issues that two world wars have presented to those whose supreme allegiance is to God, not to their state—to mankind, not to their fellow nationalists. His faith in a just God concerned about the well-being of man has remained unshaken. His acceptance of Jesus Christ as the embodiment of God, truth and love, and his acceptance of the life and teachings of Jesus as the basis on which lasting peace on earth can be created and maintained is crystal clear.

Leyton Richards has written for Christians—especially the Christian who has caught a glimpse of a warless world, who is struggling within himself between the Christian doctrine of overcoming evil with good, the redemptive value of sacrificial love, and the pressures of his state and many of his fellow men trying to persuade or force him to accept (with regret perhaps but withal in blind faith) the position that the ends justify the means, and that the way to protect the innocent and preserve the things we cherish is to rely on armaments and war. He does not question the integrity or loyalty objectives of many of those who feel compelled reluctantly to follow the gods of war.

Richards considers violence between persons, the use of police power, and war between nations. He discusses the questions of conflicting loyalties, of how evil, including military aggression, may be resisted, what may be the cost to the individual and society if the Christian pacifist ideal is to prevail and what the outcome of such sacrifices may be. He devotes pages to the objections to pacifism including Reinhold Niebuhr's doctrine of "impossible perfectionism," a stumbling block to many; and his reply presents the values and practicality of pacifism in the world as it is today.

Toward the close of his book Richards deals with conscription from many viewpoints, with war and the nation-state, and Federalism which to Leyton Richards offers the machinery for eliminating the sovereign right of nations to wage war and which under certain circumstances he believes can be largely compatible with Christian pacifist ideals.

Leyton Richards makes clear

hat the alternative to peace is not ar but annihilation. He urges hristians everywhere to seek eace by helping mankind make hose political, economic and other djustments essential to peace but n this effort not to follow false ods to futile destruction, remem- ering that in the life and teach- ngs of Jesus is found the way of eace. RAY NEWTON

Summer Service

nvest Your Summer, 1949. Com- mission on Youth Service Proj- ects. 10c.

An excellent handbook listing ork camps, caravans, community ervice projects, interracial work- hops, relief projects, and many ther types of service projects for eople from high school age up, nd including those of organiza- ions like the FOR, AFSC, BSC, nd a great many religious and ecreational organizations.

Life and Man

s God Evident? by Gerald Heard. Harper and Brothers, 1948. 254 pp., $3.00.

This is a volume of natural the- logy, to be followed by one on istorical and one on mystical the- logy. Mr. Heard gives us the gist f his studies in the three great sec- ors of the science front, physics, iotics, and psychology, and says: "Take these findings as a whole nd it seems impossible to avoid he conclusion that in this world ife and man have a coordinated pattern and purpose."

The view that Heard gives us f astronomy—our present-day nowledge of the tremendous va- riety in the kinds of suns, for ex- ample—is awesome. With regard to biology, Mr. Heard says that we have never been able to hold a really mechanistic attitude be- cause scientists have always al- lowed that there was present a striving—which of course machines do not have. And this striving through which our development has been won was not "merely or mainly or perhaps at all by vio- lence. . . . We have advanced by sensitiveness and curiosity and sympathy. . . . The meek, the train- ed and the tamed, they and they alone do inherit the earth." Mr. Heard points out that philosophy today has become too academic, whereas if those who pursue it would only apply their knowledge, they would thus become philoso- phers and so go farther.

There follows an exposition of our having become increasingly aware and of our having attained not only self-consciousness but be- coming the only creatures that have helped creatures of other species in their development. Specifically, the dog is studied. The type of dog domesticated for the longest time, the spaniel (the Pekingese and similar breeds) has acquired an enlargement of the wolf foetal skull. The dog has transferred to man the loyalty that it once had to the pack, and this miraculously speedy change has been caused by

The Reviewers

RAY NEWTON is head of the Na- tional Section of the AFSC, which has succeeded the Peace Section and taken on other work as well; MRS. E. M. GROSSMAN has been en- rolled in the FOR since 1927.

affection of each for the other, dog and man. So mutual freedom from fear, a degree of salvation, has been achieved.

Heard urges that infants should be brought up at least till the age of three without knowing fear or greed. The parents should realize the need of providing such an environment and society must provide such psychological hygiene or "Man has no future."

It is his potentiality rather than actuality that gives man his peculiar and hopeful significance. It is the evidence of what he may grow into, his "lawful freedom," his creative choice, rather than development of acquired characteristics that "open the door."

Heard criticizes organized religion and organized science for their avoidance of psychical research. "It might bypass the toll roads which they (organized religion) claim to own as the sole ways to spirituality." And organized science fears that psychical research might produce evidence which must make it finally admit that materialism is untrue. "As the new physics maintains that Time is not the final thing but that there is a state which transcends Time, so the new psychology would say that consciousness can under certain conditions enter that state and there function." And if consciousness exists *sui generis,* what of survival?

As always, Mr. Heard is so marvelously stimulating and so full of ideas that it is difficult to review without leaving out too much. For example, there is much of saints and achieving sainthood. To sum up, the world surely looks much more like having been made for man than by chance.

There must be included a few words as to what is said about ou new knowledge of atomic disint gration. "We have succeeded loosing, under our screening can opy of atmosphere, those very ra diations from which we have bee protected, those radiations th shatter the electric field which the essential instrument throug which the Life principle can bui up matter into living forms." Sti Mr. Heard maintains, though th is a grave mistake, it may not l fatal. We are still free to corre our terrible error, to change ou choice. The door is not shut. Ma may once again save himself an even be a savior.

ALTHEA S. GROSSMAN

Pamphlet Parade

Standards of Success, by Teresin Rowell Havens. Pendle Hill, D cember, 1948. 62 pp., 35c.

Examines the standards of su cess of various cultures, includin our own, and sets over against the the standards of simplicity an non-material satisfactions whic have been put forward by th prophets and thinkers throughou history. A significant and time word in the face of the breakdow of materialistic cultures today, an from which pacifists should no consider themselves exempt.

Democratic Socialism, by Roge Payne and George W. Hartman Three Arrows Press, 1948. 12 pp. Cloth, $1.50, Paper, $1.00.

Discusses the rise of capitalism and its current decline and break down, telling why the authors be lieve it has failed. Advocates demo cratic socialism in its place, tellin what immediate steps should b taken and what long-term aim such a program has in view.

Letters

Insights in Education

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Our wise men know little yet about education. I believe that the chief aims of teachers and schools should be to maintain a pleasant atmosphere in which the child is given unlimited opportunities to exercise his natural curiosity. Learning to children is a fascinating business—until they get to school, where they are soon strait-jacketed into little automatons who dutifully drill on what is supposed to be good for them.

I also made up a pledge to the United Nations which we say immediately after the morning flag ceremony. It's patterned on the American flag pledge: "I pledge allegiance to the United Nations of the World, and to the people of every land; one world, indivisible, with food and freedom for all." Coming after the limited loyalty of the American pledge it cannot help making a deep contrasting impression on their minds. I also have printed around the top of my blackboards: "War is a beast that lives in you and eats other people"; "It is always better to give life than to take life"; "A man is wise when he knows how to live; he is great when he knows how to die." And others. Their questions about these things are my opportunity, though I always state what *I* would do, not what they should, trying to impress them with their own power of choice and the dignity of personality.

Children in school should be like sheep feeding, moving as and where they please, finding by experience where the grass is richest and leanest, and only guarded from actual danger by the shepherd. Here again the lack of understanding of morals and human-God relationships handicaps the whole system. Of course, all questions should be answered fully on any subject and all the experience of the human race should be available to the child.

ELLSWORTH TAYLOR
Kapoho, Hawaii

CO Study

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Mulford Sibley and Phil Jacob have undertaken an encyclopedic task in their study of COs in World War II, and, I should judge from the summary, discharged it pretty well. It is surely difficult to present the various strands of pacifism which took part in CPS. I am especially glad to see the treatment given such absolutists as Bishop, Devault and Andresen.

One strand which is not so well presented by them, in my judgment, is that of the slowdown movement. The slowdown technique had leaders of integrity and ability who thought about it, wrote about it, and practiced it. The technique began in government camps and spread to other camps in the later days of CPS. From what I have heard from assignees drafted late, the technique became very widespread towards the end.

They appear to pass judgment on the technique, when I take it their task is historian, not to evaluate one kind of pacifism against another. The slowdown is a technique which has been used at various times and places in history, by the Germans when the French occupied the

Ruhr, and also by Indian pacifists in some circumstances. The followers of this technique merit careful consideration. It is not too far to conjecture that it may mean the eventual overthrow of the police state by pacifists in such places as Russia or even the United States if it comes to that.

The slowdown was extended by some to other forms of civil disobedience such as going AWOL. In either case I fail to see that the individuals either lost integrity or suffered personality deterioration because of their actions. There were some men in all camps who were sick or who lacked integrity, but there is no causal connection between these characteristics and civil disobedience which took the form of the slowdown.

It should be pointed out in connection with government camps that the conditions there were similar in kind, if not degree, to those in church camps, and that furthermore, government camps were used by church camps as a means of getting rid of their own sick or disciplinary problems.

PURNELL BENSON
Philadelphia, Pa.

Helpful Technique

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

May I suggest an activity for pacifists, to supplement what we already do—that is, to keep a diary in which we write what we think about peace in relation to life and the world. Let us write in it once a day, once a week or once a month, depending upon our rate of growth in this direction. Such a habit would help us to crystallize our ideas, rethink our purposes, have our profoundest thinking ways available for letter writing, disc sions, worship services and the like, a define our actions more exactly.

MIRIAM S. HALL
Boston, Massachusett

"That Man"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

That man Mayer hit the nail right the middle of the nose.

GEORGE YAMADA
Los Angeles, Calif

The Doukhobors

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Just think for one minute: 150,C Quakers, 150,000 Mennonites, 20,C Doukhobors and hundreds of thousands other kindred folks could have certain moved those imbecile mountains Washington, London, Moscow and other capitals of the world where th sit and invent suicide if those folks h only followed their ideals. But no, th are also in chaos awaiting for some m acle, but what miracle can there be ot than atomic holocaust?

Those of our folks (Doukhobors) w burned their houses in protest of Wo War III are still in prison, and nobo seems to care about it. What a de world we are passing through! Ever thing is in dollars, machines and bomb nothing is left for soul, conscience truth.

PETE MALOFF
Thrums, B. C.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

No One Else's Job

We must act where we are. It's not enough (though it's as necessary as breathing) to send a few dollars, or even a few hundred, to the FOR now and again. Each member must do his own job in his own place, and in that job literature is important—to give to friends, ministers, libraries and schools, and for your own edification.

Apostate Christendom

Edis Fairbairn, long an FOR member, has recently retired after forty years in the Christian ministry, and he ended that phase of his career with the same conviction with which he began —that "the churches part company with Jesus at the pinches." In this book, which has just been published, he tells why he feels Christendom is apostate.

$.75

Education for Peace

Herbert Read, on the assumption that in the long run the only effective method of preventing war is educational, has written a clear and intelligent discussion of ways to carry this out. A. J. Muste says, "Excellent!"

$2.75

The Recovery of Culture

Henry Bailey Stevens presents the thesis that in man's pre-history he somehow misread the signposts and got off on a wrong turn when he abandoned his garden culture and became a flesh-eating and war-making animal.

$3.00

War and the Child Mind, *reviewed briefly in March, is now out of print.*

Graduation Time

This June thousands of young, intelligent people will graduate from schools and colleges throughout the country, facing world problems of unexampled importance. Help them to take their place in the world by giving a book that will supply the eager mind with ideas.

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Christian Science Monitor

The book:

ABOVE ALL NATIONS

Compiled by George Catlin, Vera Brittain, Sheila Hodges, Gert Spindler. Edited by Devere Allen

Devere Allen, editor of Worldover Press, has prepared an American edition of the book edited by Vera Brittain et al., which sold so widely in Britain. Here are over 200 stories of deeds of humanity and heroism which are illustrative material *par excellence* for pacifist and non-pacifist alike. They illustrate touchingly and dramatically the truth that "above all nations is humanity." As such it will have many uses: illustrations for talks and sermons, documentation for articles, and the like. In addition to providing ammunition for the cause of good will and peace, they may be picked up for the light, odd moment reading of great value.

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